Bencliffe Hall in the distance

ECCLES PARISH CHURCH

John Valentine

PROGENITOR

OF THE VALENTINE FAMILY

IN NEW ENGLAND

AND

A MAN OF MARK

IN BOSTON

BY

William Valentine Alexander

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William Valentine Alexander, Jr.

AND

Charles Edward Alexander

Great-great-great-great-grandsons of

John Valentine

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Foreword

"Why should anybody make JOHN VALENTINE *the subject of a biography?" some may ask.*

In explanation it may be said that, although he was the progenitor of the VALENTINE *family in New England, the members of which are now scattered all over this country, and in the early 1700's was a distinguished man in Boston, holding the important office of His Majesty's Advocate General for the Province of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire and the Colony of Rhode Island, it has been impossible for his descendants to get in connected form in any single publication the notable facts about his life. It is true that something has been printed here and there in more than a dozen histories, but the purpose of this little biography is to present between the covers of just one book both old and new material for the information and convenience of those who are directly interested in the Valentine family.*

No pretense is made that this modest work has any literary merit. No claim is set up by the writer that he personally discovered all the facts it contains. No foolish confidence is entertained that errors will not be found, in spite of the care taken to avoid them. But, accepting the narrative just as it is, in not too critical a spirit, readers may—and it is hoped that most of them will—find much about JOHN VALENTINE *which they do not already know, and regard the book as something worth possessing.*

W. V. A.

Wayne, Pennsylvania
December, 1936

John Valentine

CHAPTER I

TO tell properly the story of the life of John Valentine one needs to go way back in the misty past, even as far as the beginning of the 1500's, when the Valentines who were the ancestors of John settled in what was then called Ecclesfield, in Lancaster County, England. Where they came from, and why they happened to choose that particular village for their new home, are matters concerning which there is no information. At any rate, Eccles continued to be the abode of the family for an unbroken stretch covering centuries.

The Eccles of today is a bustling manufacturing city which would appear to a stranger to be a part of Manchester. In the early days of the Valentines it was only a small rural place. Incidentally, it was the scene of many lively cock-fights. This might lead one to the false conclusion that the inhabitants were chiefly of a low class; but, as a matter of fact, in their fondness for the cruel sport mentioned they had illustrious examples in the Stuart family itself, as both James I and Charles II were enthusiastic devotees—although they did not have to go outside London to gratify their liking for this diversion.

Somewhat earlier than 1520, but just how much earlier is a matter of uncertainty, Bencliffe Hall in the parish of Eccles was owned and occupied by Richard Valentyne. In his will, written in the above year, the valuable property was left to his son Thomas, who in turn left it to his son Richard. Next it passed to Richard's son Thomas. It remained in the possession of the English family from one generation to another for about two centuries and a half; or, to be exact, until 1763, when Samuel Valentine of Boston, eldest

son of the John Valentine whose biography is now to be written, inherited the estate from a relation, a clergyman living in Ireland.

Perhaps at one time the name of the Hall was Beaucliffe, although the use of the letter *u* in books may have been, and probably was, a misprint for *n*. At any rate, for an extended period the name certainly was Bencliffe, or Bentcliffe, or Benclyffe. One local historian speaks of the Hall as being situated in the parish of Eccles, close to the town of that name, and about four miles from Manchester. Another English writer located the Hall on the east side of the village of Eccles and said (1868): "It was taken down many years ago, and has been replaced by two modern mansions called Higher and Lower Beaucliffe. The old Hall was once the seat of Thomas Holt. It was afterward the estate of Richard Valentyne, who married Anne Hopwood in the reign of Henry VII (1485-1509). From him it passed [first to Thomas, next to Richard, then] to Thomas Valentine, in 1595. In 1713 it was owned by Richard Valentine, High Sheriff of Lancaster County, by whose descendants it was sold in the last century to Mr. Partington."

It would be a tiresome task to trace all the changes of title to the estate during that period from 1595 to 1713, and the result would hardly be worth while, because there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the Valentine family ever parted with the property until close to 1800, as will be set forth later. Repeatedly in the church records, there are entries relating to "Vallentyne of Benclyffe"—in 1609, 1611, 1616, 1625, 1654, 1680, and so on. There are many other references to the Valentines, but not all the families, of course, enjoyed the distinction of living in the Hall itself, although there may have been a number of homes scattered over the extensive grounds.

A Boston woman who visited the ancient seat about the end of the Nineteenth Century stated, like the English writer quoted above, that there were two Halls, Higher and Lower Bencliffe. The latter was then quite in the town, which had grown greatly since the family seat was established. The Lower Hall was described as a large square house fast going to decay, the owner being dead, and the estate in chancery. Higher Bencliffe was then the largest and finest seat in that part of the country. The original building had

Drawing by Alice B. Johnston from an old print

BENCLIFFE HALL, SEAT OF THE VALENTINES

Was possessed by different members of the family for almost three centuries

been replaced in the early part of the Nineteenth Century by a handsome mansion standing on the summit of a hill, surrounded by fine old trees. The view from the height was extensive and charming. At the time of the visit mentioned the property was the home of a Member of Parliament who had sunk so much money in his political campaigns that it had become necessary to sell most of the land that was left. Seemingly there must have been a great many acres about the original Hall, in the 1400's and 1500's.

But even Higher Bencliffe was fated to lose its identity. Soon after the close of the Great War the mansion was razed in order that the site could be taken for an extension of Hope Hospital. Lower Bencliffe Hall, which was located south of the Parish Church, was somewhat of the same style of architecture as Higher Bencliffe. In its later years it was occupied as a farmhouse, but it was destroyed some decades ago, the ground being taken eventually for a real estate development called "Stanley Grove." One of the two large stone posts marking the entrance to Lower Bencliffe is still in its original place, or was, at least, as recently as 1934, when the last of the Bencliffe Hall buildings, known as Bencliffe Cottage, was demolished.

Although Higher Bencliffe was in the ecclesiastical parish of Eccles, it was not strictly in Eccles, but rather within the boundaries of what became the municipal borough (now city) of Salford. In time the name of Bencliffe was applied to an open area of considerable size lying between Eccles and Salford, but that was not until the early 1800's.

Of the ancient Parish Church the author of one of the histories of Lancaster County says: "The church is seated on a slight elevation, and is dedicated to St. Mary de Eccles. The building is a venerable Gothic structure, with a massive tower, gray with age . . . The original church was probably of a date as early as the Conquest . . . The registers begin in 1563 . . . In 1595 pews nearest the pulpit were assigned to the family halls or mansions of the parish."

As it is altogether probable that only a few members of the Valentine family and its branches in America ever have gone or ever will go to Eccles, those who would find keen enjoyment in visiting the

old church and churchyard may perhaps derive a little satisfactio from receiving the assurance of one who really has been there tha there would be no disappointment; that the experience would b something to treasure forever. To wander about the rather grin yard, gazing down upon gravestones that serve as the pavement and are so well worn that the inscriptions in many cases are effaced but some of which may cover the dust of one's own ancestors, an then to enter the church, and reverently reflect on the establishe fact that the Valentines have worshipped in it or in its predecessor for age upon age up to the present time—that is a privilege neve to be forgotten.

From some branch of the family at Bencliffe came the John Valentine who was the progenitor of the New England family. I the annals of the old Parish Church, where there are numerous en tries relating to the Valentines of Bencliffe (both names are spelle in various ways), over and over again the high standing of thos mentioned is indicated by the complimentary and deferential desig nation of "Gentleman," or the abbreviated form, "Gent.," after th names. To state positively just who among them all were the direc ancestors of John Valentine would be going a little farther than on would be warranted, as the information bearing on this point is no quite complete; but here are a few material facts:

1. Richard Valentyne, whos wife was Anne Hopwood, lived at Bencliffe Hall in the early 1500's may, indeed, have been there in the late 1400's, as his will wa dated 1520. In his will he devised the estate to his son Thomas.

2. Thomas, Gentleman, was mar ried, but his wife's name is not known. They had a son Richard, t whom the Hall was left in the will of Thomas, dated March 28, 1550.

3. Richard married, and per haps it was his daughter whose baptism was recorded on July 17, 1564—Ales (Alice) Valentyne; this being the first entry relating to the Valentines, as the records of the Parish Church were not started until the year before. At any rate, Richard had a son, Thomas, who appears to have inherited the Hall in 1595.

4. Thomas, son of Richard, married Dorothy, daughter of Ralph Malbon of the Wast. It should be explained that "the Wast" was a tract of thousands of acres west of Eccles, a large part of which was frequently overflowed by the River Irwell, now absorbed in the Manchester ship canal. Owing to the floods, the land was not extensively cultivated, being generally regarded as a waste tract. The name of Wast still survives in one section. Thomas Valentine, mentioned above, died September 12, 1609. He had two sons, one of whom was John.

5. John, who will, for convenience, be distinguished in this narrative as John 1, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Risley. He died March 30, 1625. He had two sons, but only one, John (II), survived him.

6. John II, Gentleman, married on April 17, 1626, Margerett, daughter of John Sleigh, or Sligh, of Biggen Grange, Derbyshire. (Biggen is still a hamlet near Hartington, 1100 feet above sea level, and a bleak spot. In Hartington Church, reputed to have been built in the Thirteenth Century, there is a beautiful window to commemorate John Sleigh.) March 14, 1680, is the date of the death of John Valentine II. Of him it is said: "Known to have had a son Thomas; probably had other children."

As John II married Margerett Sleigh in 1626, it may be presumed that he was born about 1600-1604, although there is no record in Eccles parish of the birth of any John Valentine at the end of the 1500's or in the early 1600's. His birth may have been entered in the register of some other parish, but more probably the omission was due to somebody's carelessness; for how many parents right here in America, for that matter, are particular to see for themselves that the baptisms of their children are actually entered properly in the church or other registers?

Looking forward now to 1643 there may be found an entry of the baptism of "John, son of John Vallentyne, Gentleman," on April 5. As the only existing record of marriages from 1626 up to 1643 mentions no John except the one who took Margerett Sleigh for his wife, it does not seem altogether preposterous to consider John II as possibly, not to say probably, the father of the John (III) baptized in 1643. At that time John II, it is true, had been married about seventeen years; but he would have been either in his late thirties

or early forties, and he must have been a vigorous man to hav lived, as he did, until 1680. Many other children may have bee born in the family before 1643. There is, for example, an entry of birth in November, 1641; "Mary, daughter of John Vallentyne Gentleman." Deplorable gaps in the parish records after 1626 mak it impossible to determine beyond any question whatever just wh was the father of John III, but the conjecture set down above seem to have at least a reasonable foundation.

Just at this point maybe some cynical reader will recall wit amusement that when Mark Twain visited the Church of the Hol Sepulchre he wept at the grave of Adam, whom, by the way, h described as "a blood relation, though a distant one"; and Mar recorded this profound observation concerning the grave: "Unde the roof of this church Adam himself lies buried. There is no ques tion that he is actually buried in the grave that is pointed out as his because it has never yet been proven that it is *not* his." Now, follow ing that easy line of reasoning, this challenge may be facetiousl issued: If the John Valentine mentioned above as the father o John III is not the right one, let the facts relating to the right on be produced. Truly, it would be hard to find anything more than i set down here, and the conjecture as to identity is probably correct

In the hope of obtaining fresh and valuable material for thi little book, the services of the parish clerk at Eccles were engaged He examined most carefully all the old records which gave an promise to throw new light on the matter, but in the end could con tribute hardly anything more than a verification of names and date previously found. Special attention was given to the period fro 1626 to 1643, so as to weld, if possible, a link between the John Val lentyne who married Margerett Sleigh and the John who emigrate to Boston. The circumstantial evidence is strong, because of tha baptismal entry in 1643, "John, son of John Vallentyne," wit simply no John discoverable who could logically be considered a the father in this case, except the husband of Margerett Sleigh Quite unfortunately the names of mothers were almost invariabl omitted from the register; otherwise, identification would be easy

Too far-fetched, may be the natural objection to the foregoin argument. Still, there is no gainsaying the inheritance of Bencliff

Drawing by Alice B. Johnston

ECCLES PARISH CHURCH TODAY

Impressively gray with age, but trees and shrubs soften the bare aspect of long ago

Hall by a member of the Valentine family who was born long afterward in Massachusetts, which fact shows conclusively that there was a connection between this American heir and Richard, the first Valentine to occupy the Hall.

Now, taking up the next links in the chain, in the Spring of 1675, when the John III mentioned above was thirty-two years old, a man named John Valentine became a freeman in Boston, the first time the family name can be discovered in the town records. Almost certainly this was the John who was baptized in England in 1643, as there was apparently no other John in the Valentine family at Eccles of the right age in 1674 or 1675 to be recognized as the emigrant. He must have brought with him a little son, John (IV), because the carefully-kept records in Boston show that no child bearing the name of John Valentine was born for a long time after 1675.

John IV, to hold a responsible public office in Boston (as he did) in 1698, was probably at the time of his appointment, from twenty-eight to thirty years old; that is to say, he was probably born in England about 1669-1671. In support of this idea it should be stated that, when he was married, in 1702, his wife was just twenty-two. As it is unlikely that there was a difference of more, or much more, than ten years in their ages, 1669-1671 was presumably the time of his birth. It was one of his sons who inherited Bencliffe Hall.

It would be interesting to get even a hazy idea, if nothing better, as to the reason that influenced the Valentines to emigrate. They do not appear to have had any relations in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, but they may of course have had friends there who encouraged them to remove to America. Charles II was King at the time of their departure, and so many men had been imprisoned, tortured and beheaded during his reign that almost anybody might have felt sure that conditions would be much better and happier across the sea.

As Liverpool is not far from Eccles, it seems likely that the family embarked from that port. Besides the father, mother and son, there may have been a daughter, as a sister bearing the name of Elizabeth was mentioned many years later in the will of John Valentine IV,

and there is no record of her birth in Boston. But just when th family arrived at their destination cannot be determined, as the names do not appear in any published list of emigrants. Probab it was near the end of 1674 or in the early part of 1675, because th father became a freeman in May of the latter year, and it is reaso able to presume that a man of his standing would seek to ava himself promptly of those rights to which freemen were entitle His name is first in a long list recorded in the month mentione

To turn their backs on the sporting, the cock-fighting village Eccles itself may not have been a hard thing for the Valentines do, yet it must have saddened them to leave Bencliffe Hall, or th immediate neighborhood of the Hall, home of the family for many generations, and doubtless endeared to them as the scen of countless happy gatherings, especially on holidays. Certainly called for courage, to sever all the treasured associations and depa for that town on the other side of the ocean which had been chose for a new home, although it was wholly unfamiliar to them, ju a name—Boston.

CHAPTER 2

OF the life of the Valentines during their earliest years in Boston there is no trace whatever, with the exception, already noted, of the fact that the father became a freeman in 1675. At that time, curiously, five-sixths of the men in the Colony were non-voters, because not church members. As nobody could attain the standing of a freeman unless he first became connected with a church, Mr. Valentine must have identified himself with one of the few that had already been organized. There was then none that followed the service of the Church of England. But there is nothing to show definitely in which part or parts of the town the family lived; and if the father cut any figure in public affairs all the time he was in Boston, the evidence is lacking. He may have possessed sufficient means to enable him to lead a life of leisure, and been perfectly content to do it. One historian states that he died at the home of his son, and as John was not married until 1702, the father perhaps lived at least as long as that. The mother not improbably returned to England after the death of her husband; for her son's will, drawn in 1722, contained a bequest to her in pounds sterling, provided she survived him, which indicates that she was not in America at that time, as other bequests in the will were in the form of Province bills.

This, unfortunately, is all there is to be told about the parents; and even what became of John's sister Elizabeth is not known.

As for John Valentine himself, it may be presumed that his boyhood was much like that of other boys. Probably there were games of a kind—but what kind? Sports do not appear to have engaged much of the attention of the people. Still, there must have been bowling,—not in alleys, of course, but on greens,—as there was a restriction against bowling about the inns. For a time there was a real bowling green, after the Dutch fashion, near what was afterward called Bowdoin Square. Archery was taught at one period, by order of the authorities. Football of a sort also was played, as warnings were given not to play in "the streets, lanes, or enclos-

ures." One might fancy that, with so many persons of English descent in the town, there would have been games of cricket on the Common, as that was a healthy form of diversion to which the Puritans could not reasonably take exception. But in England itself cricket was not much in vogue until the 1700's.

All boys delight in seeing a military show, and periodically John Valentine had a treat of that character when the valiant Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company paraded through the streets leading to the Common, for drills and target practice.

Stocks, the ducking-stool and the whipping-post were in common use as a means of punishment for various offences, some of which appear to have been rather trivial. One can easily imagine how fast the news would travel in boyland when a man or a woman was paying a penalty and the show could be viewed free of charge. And fires, like that in 1679, when seventy warehouses and eighty other buildings were burned—fires were spectacles to entrance young eyes, with no concern about losses to disturb the minds of the juvenile watchers. If reading was a real recreation, there were several bookshops, although most of the books on sale doubtless were of such a dull character that not one boy in a thousand in these times would willingly read any one of them, as he might express it, "even on a bet."

As a patient examination of scores of books and records has failed to bring to light anything about the movements of the Valentine family, perhaps nothing better can be done than to review rather sketchily some of the events which must have engaged their attention. Living in the capital of the Colony, and later of the Province, John, like any other boy, would have been likely to take advantage of a large share of the opportunities that came his way to see things of interest, especially as they took place in rather a small territory; and even when the occurrences were outside the limits of Boston, he surely would have heard people talking about them. Here, then, will be outlined some of the affairs of moment during his youth, and later.

First of all there was King Philip's war, which was waged during the Summer of the very year when the Valentines probably arrived

n America. What must have been the feelings of the new-comers to see the Colony engaged in a desperate conflict with savages so crafty, daring and cruel as to cause wide-spread alarm? Nothing like that, surely, in the country they had left behind them, and they may have wished themselves back again. Did the boys of that period get a thrill from the tidings of terrible fights here and there? Doubtful. The deep concern manifested by their elders would naturally react upon them.

Attacks by the Indians were continued for two years, forty towns being threatened and a dozen destroyed. About six hundred buildings were burned, besides household goods. The loss of white men was estimated to be about six hundred. The cost of the war, too, was somewhat appalling. One historian calculated that the Colony was put to an expense of a thousand pounds for every one of the enemy that was killed.

King Philip was ambushed and shot in August, 1677, and that practically ended the warfare. Still, for almost twenty years afterward the savages occasionally made raids, and sometimes they were discovered at points not more than twenty miles from Boston. A strange and disquieting experience for the English emigrants, this war of King Philip's.

Then there was the change from Colonial to Provincial government—that was something about which every household was concerned; some viewing it favorably, but most of the inhabitants with great apprehension. It was one thing to choose from among themselves those who should govern them, but quite another thing to be placed under the arbitrary rule of a hard master appointed by the King. The change came in the Summer of 1684 through the vacation by James II of the charter that had been granted to "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay." To carry out his plan for a union of his Colonies the King appointed Sir Edmund Andros.

It was in the boyhood of John Valentine that Sir Edmund arrived in Boston. He landed from a pinnace on December 20, 1686, and was escorted by soldiers to the Town House, for the formal reading

of his royal commission as Governor. Wearing a scarlet coat, with plentiful embellishments of lace, and followed by his suite similarly attired, he was an impressive figure; and if John Valentine, like probably, all the other boys in Boston, turned out to see the splendid spectacle, he may have acquired, even at that early age, a desire for some governmental office.

Deeply offended by the loss of their charter, the people were suspicious of any control from England. By many, Andros was detested. One latter-day historian defended him a little bit by saying: "It may be assumed that the opposition to Andros was not personal but general. The Colonists had been for more than a generation virtually independent. Their officials were natives, their legislature of their own selection. When their charter was revoked they were at once at the mercy of a sovereign little known, but greatly feared. Any royal Governor who tried to follow his orders was liable to be hated."

Henry Cabot Lodge was another defender of Andros, of whom he wrote: "He has been held up as a typical example of a cruel tyrant and a fit representative of a bigoted and despotic master. There does not seem to be any better ground for this view than the bitter and natural hostility of a people who had been deprived of their independence, and whose religious prejudices had been wounded by the political change which he happened to represent. Andros was not only a man of character and good standing, but he seems to have been personally above reproach, and to have indulged in no petty oppression. The opposition to his government was perfectly sound but it rested in reality on political and not on personal grounds. Andros was a good administrator who served a stupid and oppressive King."

That beloved man, Edward Everett Hale, on the other hand succinctly described Andros as "a tyrant." Certainly, in most matters the town folk were treated cavalierly. Much that was done antagonized them. The rough-shod way in which the Governor carried out his determination to hold in one of the churches services after the form of the Church of England will be taken up later. Andros insisted, for one thing, that title to all the lands in the Province had reverted to the Crown. If those holding title wished

Drawing by Charles A. Lawrence

THE OLD TOWN HOUSE

As it appeared at the time Andros arrived in Boston as Governor of the Province

to recover their so-called rights, let them pay, and pay handsomely. Unjust taxes of various kinds were imposed.

While he was in power in Boston, Lady Andros died. This was on January 22, 1687-88. It was, nevertheless, almost three weeks later when the funeral took place. It was at night. Soldiers stood guard from the Governor's mansion to the South Meeting-house, where a service was held, with candles for illumination. The church was crowded, many of the foremost citizens being present. Six horses drew the hearse, and torches were used to light the way to the burying-ground in Treamount Street (afterwards known as the King's Chapel Burying-Ground), where the body was placed in a tomb.

All the unrest among the town folk, all the smarting they had endured, finally led to a revolt. It came on an April day in 1689, when John Valentine was old enough to realize how serious the situation was. There were whispers of an uprising, and then, seemingly without any definite concert of action, the people of the south end of the town and those of the north end marched toward the Town House. Andros, being warned, promptly took refuge in the fort standing at what is now called Fort Hill Square. He could not flee to England, because the vessel in which he might have sailed under cover of darkness was stripped of her sails. For many months he was a prisoner. The following February, however, an order came from the King that all prisoners should be sent to England. Bluff Sir William Phips then became ruler of the Province.

So John Valentine witnessed a revolution, though fortunately a bloodless one.

Another outstanding event was the witchcraft delusion. Reading about it now, one might almost think the accounts were fiction, that the inhuman acts could not possibly have happened in real life among civilized people. But superstition appears to have had a strangle hold on the inhabitants as a whole, and woe to anybody who was suspected of practising sorcery. It went so far that even the wife of a prominent clergyman was accused; so was John Alden, son of the Pilgrim. Indeed, a former preacher was forced to yield

up his life on the scaffold. Salem was the scene of most of the horrible occurrences and the place of most of the trials. One innocent victim, eighty years old, was crushed to death there after he had protested he had done no wrong. Nobody brought into court while the excitement was at its height stood much of a chance to get justice.

This frightful persecution by men trying "to merit heaven by making earth a hell" began in 1688 and lasted for more than a year. Nineteen persons were hanged, one pressed to death, fifty-five others tortured and one hundred and fifty imprisoned. It all brings to mind that observation of Daniel Webster's: "The settlers of New England possessed all the Christian virtues but charity, and they seem never to have doubted that they possessed that, also."

A happening horrible enough to make a lasting impression on the mind of any boy was the hanging of "Goody" Glover on the Common, after she had been convicted of witchcraft. This was on November 16, 1688. Seemingly there was a procession through some of the principal streets of Boston, with a marshal, constables and Justice Bullivant present; and John Valentine may have watched the spectacle with a shudder. The woman was accused of bewitching four children. She was the last Quaker to be hanged on the Common.

Of the men of the period under consideration there were but few, if, indeed, there was anybody, better known than Samuel Sewall. He appears to have constituted himself a watcher over all persons and things in Boston. Day by day for forty years he entered in a diary that became famous and priceless, notes of what he did, or saw, or heard; and that diary has perhaps furnished a better idea of the lives of the Colonists than anything else, because of the manifold occurrences which seemed to Sewall to be worth describing.

Samuel Sewall was born in England, grandson of one of the mayors of Coventry. His father appears to have done nothing of consequence after coming to America, but Samuel, by marrying the only child of John Hull, master of the mint, and a rich man, found himself so comfortably circumstanced that, although he had been educated to be a clergyman, his attention turned instead to public

ffairs. For a time he was a member of the Board of Assistants and f the Council. Later, he was chosen to be a Judge of the Superior Court, and he became Chief Justice, serving in that capacity from 718 to 1728. One of his modern admirers said of him: "His strong ntellect and noble soul would have won distinction in any age. In is sombre time they shone bright and clear. His confession of error n the witchcraft trials bears touching evidence of the purity and levation of his character."

As a judge, Sewall mercilessly sentenced a number of persons to e hanged for witchcraft, but afterward, in the South Meeting-ouse, he made a public and remorseful admission that he had done great wrong. From that time he proved his repentance by fasting nd prayer one day each week. Whittier wrote of him:

Stately and slow, with thoughtful air,
His black cap hiding his whitened hair,
Walks the Judge of the Great Assize,
Samuel Sewall, the good and wise.
. . . a tale is told
Of the fast which the good man lifelong kept,
With a haunting sorrow that never slept,
As the circling year brought round the time
Of an error that left the sting of crime,
When he sat on the bench of the witchcraft courts.

But Whittier could forgive him, because of his opposition to lavery; and a clergyman of Sewall's own time, the Reverend Thomas Prince, wrote that "He was universally and greatly rever-nced, esteemed and beloved among us for his extraordinary and ender Heart." Therefore it is clear that his action in the witchcraft ases was not wholly condemned.

With this remarkable man, called "the light of his generation," John Valentine, as a lawyer, was in frequent contact in his man-ood, and it looks as if anybody who knew the Judge with any degree of intimacy could not have failed to profit by such acquaint-ance, as he took an interest in all sorts of things,—serving, for example, as Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Com-pany. Moreover, he had a good library, so it is not to be doubted that his conversation would hold one's close attention.

But some of Sewall's views were conspicuously narrow. Appar ently he could see no good reason for "wasting" time in amuse ment. He abhorred dancing, and vigorously opposed any attemp to perform plays. At one time he even warned a traveling conjure against trying to give an exhibition of card tricks. Think of th disappointment which Young America of that time may hav experienced on hearing of his action!

Of course, John Valentine did not know it, any more than any body else, but in his later years there was going about the streets c Boston a boy who was destined to become far more celebrated tha Judge Sewall himself; destined, in fact, to play such an importan part in the history of his country that he would become famous a over the world. How people would have stared, whenever this bo came along, if it had been possible to look into the future and se the high place he was to take! For the boy was Benjamin Franklir born in a small house in Milk Street, across the way from the Sout Meeting-house, in January 1706. Apprenticed to his brother as printer when he was thirteen years old, he was an anonymous con tributor to that brother's paper, the *New England Courant*, whil still a boy, and was nominally the publisher for a short time whil in his 'teens, after the Government had taken offense at somethin published, and forbidden his brother to issue the Courant an longer. As Benjamin delivered papers to the subscribers, and als peddled his "Broadsides" in the streets, not improbably John Val entine saw him frequently.

In those early days in Boston the people lived under certai conditions which now appear to have been quite odd. For example the Sabbath, or Lord's Day, as it was called, was observed fron Saturday, at sunset. Friends who met by chance on the Sabbat were not permitted to stop for a little chat. Even when the weathe was extremely hot they could not go to the Common or to th water-front for relief.

Church services were almost incredibly long. A stranger in tow complained, after the Sabbath Day service which he had attended

that one minister made a prayer of full two hours in length, and another one delivered a sermon an hour long; and after that another prayer was made and some verses read. An hour-glass on the pulpit enabled the congregation to keep track of the time, although it was of course kept there for the benefit of the clergymen.

Wedding ceremonies were simple, and for a long time rings were not used.

It was the custom to ring the church bells at fixed times: at five o'clock in the morning, again at eleven,—the exchange bell,—and once more at nine at night. The bells were of course rung at any time when there was need to give an alarm.

Nothing of the character of a theatre existed during the lifetime of John Valentine.

There was no bridge from the present North End to Charlestown, ferries being used. When Long Wharf was built it was regarded as one of the sights, although that was natural enough, as it projected a thousand feet into the sea.

When a dealer in books brought over from London an assortment of his stock to place on sale, in 1685, he was surprised to find five dealers already engaged in the business—which indicates that there was no lack of intellectual activity in the Colony. Nevertheless, it was not until 1704 that the first newspaper, the *Boston News-Letter*, was established, after an earlier paper had been issued just once. It was a small sheet, containing but little home news except of an official sort; yet, poor as it was, it had no rival for many years, the second weekly, *Boston Gazette*, being first published in 1719.

Boston was probably as good a place as any, in which to live. Care was taken to protect the inhabitants. What was called the Beacon, a tall pole with a kettle at its top, containing tar to be lighted for purposes of warning, was always ready for use on Sentry Hill. It stood on ground that is now the site of the State House. Across the Neck, that narrow strip of land connecting the town with Roxbury, there was a long ditch, with a bridewell close by—bridewell being the ancient name for a house of detention. Sentries were kept on guard there, though not constantly, as a precaution against sudden attacks by the Indians.

A lighthouse was set up in the harbor, partly for use as a signal station if any supposed foe should be discovered approaching the town.

As early as 1662 steps were taken for the organization of a town watch, the few men on duty being ordered to look out especially for fires. In 1679 a military watch was established, and there was even something in the nature of small police stations, called watch-houses, where the watchmen remained after completing their rounds, unless they were summoned to give aid.

There was, moreover, what passed in those days for a fire department. In 1676, after fifty buildings had been destroyed by a fire at the north end of the town, a "water-engine" was imported from England. Previously there had been a make-shift engine, but the importation was "the real thing." Residents were required to have cisterns, ladders and fire-buckets conveniently placed on their premises.

One of the buildings burned in the fire just mentioned was the home of the renowned Increase Mather, who was later to become President of Harvard College. Some of the families whose houses were threatened removed their household goods to the Common (just as, by the way, merchants hurried truck-loads of valuable goods to the same safe place at the time of the great fire in November, 1872).

When a bad fire occurred in the heart of the town, in 1711, firewards were appointed, authority being given them to remove furniture from houses, to be properly guarded until the fire had been put out. Somewhat later a Fire Society was organized "for mutual aid in case it should please Almighty God to permit the breaking-out of a fire in Boston."

Piracy gave the town folk something to talk about over and over again. In 1699 Captain William Kidd, commissioned as a privateer, but regarded in the end as a pirate, was wanted by the Colonial authorities. Believing that he could successfully defend himself against any charges, he came openly to Boston, where he was promptly put in jail. He was accused of murder on the high seas, and, after some proceedings to justify the more formal action sure

o be taken later, he was sent as a prisoner to London. There he was ried for piracy, and, as had been expected, was found guilty, and anged.

Only a few years later a whole crew of pirates faced trial in Boston. Six were convicted and hanged. John Valentine had an mportant part in this trial. Word reached the town in 1717 that a irate ship had been wrecked off Wellfleet, with more than a hun-red men lost. Of nine who escaped drowning, six were tried for iracy, and hanged. Even as late as 1723 numerous cases of piracy ere reported.

Always the Common had a prominent place in the life of the eople. Many things happened there—many persons were hanged: ndians, "witches" and others. Several duels were fought, although one, fortunately, resulted in the death of a principal. This state-ent applies, however, only to the period in which John Valentine ved; for there was, in 1728, a meeting at which one young man, ghting after a quarrel, was killed with a sword.

The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company used a big field n the Common for drills. A whipping-post was set up. Cows were reely pastured for a long time, but in 1701 those who wished to njoy this privilege had to get tickets from men appointed for the urpose, and any cows found which had not been ticketed were put n a pound, with fees to be paid by the owners for their release. Grazing, it may be said right here, was continued as late as 1830. pinning competitions took place in the open air in 1720, with vomen of all classes showing the skill and speed with which they ould run the newly-introduced spinning wheels. Money was appro-riated to open a school where poor girls could be taught to spin. There was a Summer day, too, when the people were startled to ear that a man had been knocked down and robbed on the Com-non the night before. Such an unusual occurrence would be enough o keep people talking for days.

But while the Colony, considered in a broad way, was progressing oward better things, primitive conditions prevailed for a long time.

It was not until 1718 that a start was made to import coal, wood being used everywhere for fuel. Travel in the interior of the country was difficult, as there was virtually no clear trail open between Massachusetts and Connecticut until 1700, although measures had been taken almost twenty years earlier to establish a well-marked road through the forest. Express service between Boston and Newport was begun in 1721 by a man who had been a post-rider. He carried passengers, as well as merchandise, in his wagon, making one round trip weekly.

A memorable storm came in the early part of 1717, when a blizzard, to use a modern word, struck the New England coast. The storm lasted several days. It was estimated that the snow in many places was six feet deep on a level. Deer broke their way through the drifts to get to the somewhat open spaces near the shore, in order to satisfy their hunger. Wolves and bears, which were rather common then, followed them to the clearings. Long before that wolves had become a menace, bounties on their heads having been offered as far back as 1693.

Then came disaster in a terrible form, so many families were afflicted. Quoting Nathaniel Hawthorne: "Appearance of a dreadful epidemic which was wont to slay its hundreds and thousands on both sides of the Atlantic, that mighty conqueror, that scourge and horror of our fore-fathers—the small pox. Dismay followed in the track of the disease, or ran before it throughout the town. This conqueror had a symbol of his triumphs: it was a blood-red flag that fluttered in the tainted air over the door of every dwelling into which the small pox had entered."

That was in 1721. About six thousand persons in Boston caught the disease and about a thousand died.

How the attitude of the whites toward the Indians changed with the passing years is shown by the fact that, in 1722, when a Mohawk chief died at one of the taverns in Boston, he was "magnificently interred," as somebody expressed it. See the honors that were paid

A drawn sword lay on the coffin, and the pall was supported by
x Captains of the Militia. The Gentlemen of the Council followed
xt the corpse, and then the Justices of the town and the Com-
ission Officers of the Militia. At last followed four Indians, the
o hindmost with each a pappoos at her back."

Can it possibly be that, even in those far-away times, some people
ought—to twist a familiar saying somewhat—that any dead
dian was a good one?

During the life of John Valentine these were the Sovereigns of
ngland and consequently the rulers of the Colony and Province:
harles II, James II, William and Mary, Anne, and George I.

And now, after this hop-skip-and-jump survey of about half a
ntury, it may be well to go right back to John Valentine's boy-
ood, and proceed from that point in a more orderly manner.

CHAPTER 3

HOW young Valentine was educated is a matter for spe
ulation. Maybe at the start it was his father or h
mother who taught him, or perchance there was a pr
vate tutor. Considering his antecedents, it may l
assumed that his parents would wish him to be we
educated. At any rate, when he was old enough to go to schoo
close at hand there was the Latin School, which had been esta
lished as far back as 1635. This school stood on what is now th
part of the City Hall yard, close to the ground taken long afterwa
for the King's Chapel. Of this school Bishop Phillips Brooks sai
"It taught the children, little Indians and all, to read and writ
But there seems every reason to suppose that it taught also tl
Latin tongue, and all that was then deemed the higher knowledg
It was the town's only school till 1682. Side by side on its humb
benches sat the son of the Governor and the son of the fisherma
each free to take the best he could grasp. The highest learning w
declared at once to be no privilege of an artistocratic class, but tl
portion of any boy who had the soul to desire it and brain to appr
priate it."

Whatever the truth may be about those early years, it does n
require any great stretch of the imagination to believe that Joh
Valentine was above the average boy in intelligence; his profession
career seems to bear out that idea. That wise clergyman, Cotto
Mather, preaching before the Governor and Council in 1685, sai
"The Youth in this Country are verie Sharp, and early Ripe i
their Capacities." That observation may have applied, amon
others, to John Valentine, who was then probably about fiftee
years old. If he was curious at that time to discover what Com
mencement Day meant at Harvard, his father, making inquiries
some of those learned men who were present, might have told hi
that there were (as Sewall recorded the proceedings in his diary
"Besides the Disputes, three or four Orations, one in Latin b
Mr. Dudley, and two Greek and one Hebrew; and the Presiden

er giving the degrees, made an Oration in Hebrew." But if John d gone out to Cambridge to see for himself just what happened, impression of the affair might have been more like that which a rrator once furnished in *The Atlantic Monthly*, thus: "It is Wedsday, the first day of July. In the college grounds tents and awngs have been erected, and under these temporary shelters from e sun, as well as on the college steps and in the open windows, pear the guests of the day. Outside the yard, on the Common, the invited multitude celebrates in a fashion of its own, with sideows, wrestling matches, plenty to eat and drink, and a free fight the afternoon."

It would be only guessing, to try to reach a conclusion as to why hn Valentine took up the study of law, although, for one thing, at was a calling which certainly was not over-crowded. An trained man who came from England in 1638, pretending to ve knowledge of law, appeared in court for the plaintiff in one se. This greatly annoyed the magistrates; in fact, it was an innotion of which they emphatically disapproved. This single experice was enough to make them announce that, in the future, body should be allowed to represent, for a fee, anybody having a use in court. That edict certainly had a humorous side. But, at e same time, what shrewdness was shown in using the phrase, or a fee"! They could not have done better than that in a hundred ars, and nothing more was heard of legal counselors for a long etch of time.

Indeed, it was not until after the Provincial form of government d been established that any action was taken to reorganize the ude judicial system. About a dozen attorneys were then authoed to practice. But there was a queer situation in the 1680's, many of the early judges had really been educated for the minisy, and knew but little law. Some had been merchants, and they ntinued to follow that calling, too; and one of the most proment was an apothecary. Near the end of the century, however, ere was an improvement.

In the *Memorial History of Boston*, a writer says: "For many ars there was no distinct class of attorneys; and when, in 1701,

attorneys were recognized as officers of the court, and were requir to take an oath before practicing, still, no term of study w required, and apparently no examination was had, so that the w was broad enough for any one to enter. Occasionally some one wh had had a professional education in England found his way to th Colony; but, as may be imagined, the sparse wanderers failed have much influence upon the general customs and practice. As rule, every one was supposed, alike by himself and others, to b sufficiently able to plead his own cause."

That was a time when Harvard College was trying to turn ou capable clergymen rather than attorneys. There was no law scho anywhere, and even those who actually practiced law had but fe books to inform and guide them. Fifty volumes, or a hundred most, were deemed a considerable collection. Such books as th lawyers possessed were, of course, English publications. John Va entine may have had no library at all; but, whatever his limitatio were in this respect, he managed somehow to fit himself to practic presumably by reading under the guidance of some establishe lawyer—and, for a guess, it may have been Benjamin Lynde. I June, 1698, while he was still a young man, the Provincial Gover ment thought enough of him to appoint him to the important an honorable office of Notary Public; and it should be borne in mi that in the Seventeenth Century a Notary Public was entitled t much respect, because he was, apparently, the only Notary in th whole Province during his term of office.

How long John Valentine may have been considering marriag how long he may have had hopes that Mary Lynde would conse to become his wife, who shall say? Born November 16, 1680, Mar was the only child of Samuel Lynde, a prosperous merchant, who brother Benjamin, prominent in the legal profession, finally becam Chief Justice of the Province. It is worthy of note in passing tha Benjamin Lynde, Jr., also was appointed to that high positio many years later. All the Lyndes stood well in the estimation o the people of Boston. Simon Lynde of London was the origin emigrant to America. That was in 1650. His ancestry has been def nitely traced back as far, at least, as 1585. An alliance with th

enowned Digby family in England gave all the descendants some ery distinguished forebears.

It was on April 16, 1702, that John Valentine and Mary Lynde ere married at the First Church by the Reverend Benjamin Wadsorth. The meeting-house at that time was a small wooden structure tanding on the West side of the present Washington Street, a hort distance south of Court Street, although the streets bore diffrent names then. The First Church was probably chosen as the lace for the wedding because Samuel Lynde had long been much nterested in it. Mr. Wadsworth was a graduate of Harvard College, nd had preached at the First Church for several years before he as installed as the minister. Long afterward he was elected Presient of Harvard, but Mr. Valentine did not live to see him inducted nto office, as that was in 1725.

Seven children were born to the Valentines, about whom somehing will be told later in this book.

It is a curious circumstance that, a century or more after the edding, a great-grandson of John Valentine, by name, Elmer alentine, conducted in a business building that had been erected n the site of the First Church one of the earliest private schools in oston, including among his pupils Charles Sumner, who became nited States Senator from Massachusetts, Samuel F. Smith, who on fame as the author of *America*, and Gardner Colby, for hom Colby University in Maine was named.

CHAPTER 4

ONCE well started upon his professional career John Valentine must have attracted favorable notice. It may have been his good fortune to begin practicing just at the time when an increasing number of litigants and law-breakers who thought they "knew it all" began to realize the advantage of being represented before the magistrates by somebody much better qualified to win their cases. At any rate, he gained distinction in 1704 by serving as Register of the Court at the trial of an infamous band of pirates led by one whose name somehow seems appropriate for such a ruffian—Captain Jack Quelch. As the affair was long remembered in the Province, a short story about it may be worth telling.

Quelch was at the start a member of the crew of a brigantine fitted up as a privateer in 1703 and commissioned by Governor Dudley to go in pursuit of the French, as enemies of Queen Anne. While the captain of the brigantine was sick in his berth, or dead because of deliberate and cruel neglect, what did Quelch do, with the approval of the ring-leaders, but take command, order that the captain should be thrown overboard, and then begin a piratical cruise. Some of the sailors were quite unwilling to go, but were helpless.

In a comparatively short time this lawless band captured nine vessels in the South Atlantic Ocean. As all had Portuguese crews, and Portugal happened to be an ally of England, Captain Quelch was cunning enough to pretend that he held his roving commission from France, and therefore had a right to seize whatever there was of value on board the vessels. It was only during the final raid that the pirates met with determined resistance, and in this case the captain of a brigantine that had been attacked was shot down in a hand-to-hand fight, and his body tossed into the sea. First and last, a large amount of loot had been obtained.

On the voyage home the pirates agreed to tell a story like this: Down on the coast of Brazil they had had the good luck to fall in

with some Indians, who told about the wreck of a Spanish galleon from which they themselves had taken goods; but gold had been left untouched, as the Indians had no use for it. It was the discovery of this rich treasure that had satisfied the "privateers" to abandon further cruising and head northward.

In the Springtime, with audacity enough to take one's breath away, they sailed into Marblehead harbor. The crew quickly scattered along the shore, spreading a yarn to the effect that, as their first captain had died at sea, Quelch had been chosen to take command; adding to this statement the cooked-up story of the wreck of the galleon and the recovery of the gold the Spaniards had left behind.

Truly, an entertaining tale, yet it was not believed, as "Quelch was a strutting, swaggering villain, trusting to his ability to deceive the authorities." Under orders of the Governor, a hunt was begun for the missing crew. A volunteer company sailed for the Isles of Shoals, where, it was suspected, some of the men were hiding. Sure enough, seven were discovered and seized there, being taken to Salem. A dozen others were found elsewhere, some of whom willingly told the truth about the cruise. Meanwhile Quelch himself had been shut up in jail in Boston.

Speedily a High Court in Admiralty ordered that the pirates should be tried. There are conflicting statements as to where the trial took place. The Town House (the present Old State House) is mentioned by one careful historian and the Star Tavern, in Hanover Street, by another. Perhaps the proceedings were started at the Town House and continued at the tavern, which certainly was a more convenient place to get refreshment! The Court must have been an imposing body, as it included the Governor, the Chief Justice of the Superior Court, the Secretary of the Province, and other high officers. Naturally, the pirates pleaded "Not guilty"; but, although the able lawyer assigned by the Court to defend them, appears to have raised in their behalf every legal objection of which he could think, twenty were convicted and sentenced to be hanged.

Quelch and five others really went to the gallows, which were set up near Scarlett's Wharf, a little south of the end of the present

Hanover Street; the rest of the pirates were pardoned in time b
Queen Anne, on recommendation of Governor Dudley. The con
demned men were guarded at the time of execution by forty mus
keteers as well as by constables. The judges were interested spec
tators of the hanging. Indeed, these horrible happenings seem t
have possessed an extraordinary fascination for the town folk, wh
never were excluded from the scene. Proof of their captivation o
the populace is found in Judge Sewall's diary, where he wrote a
follows under date of June 30, 1704:

> "After dinner, about 3 P.M., I went to see the execution. When I came to see how the River was covered with people I was amazed. Some say there were 100 boats; 150 Boats and Canoes, saith Cousin Moody of York. Mr. Cotton Mather came with Captain Quelch and six others for Execution, from the Prison to Scarlett's Wharf, and from thence in the boat to the place of execution, about midway between Hanson's Point and Broughton's Warehouse. When the scaffold was hoisted to a due height, the seven malefactors went up. Mr. Mather prayed for them, standing upon the Boat. Ropes were all fastened to the gallows (save King, who was reprieved). When the Scaffold was let to sink there was such a Screech of the women that my wife heard it, sitting in our entry. Our house is a full mile from the place."

In the official record of this case there is a list of payments t
those who were instrumental in bringing the pirates to justice, an
as one of the largest sums was awarded to John Valentine, it i
certain that he played an important part in the trial.

A slight clue to his standing as an attorney in later years is found
in a paragraph in Judge Emory Washburn's *Judicial History o*
Massachusetts. This writer says of Mr. Valentine: "He was a lawye
of distinguished learning and integrity. His argument in the case o
Matson versus Thomas, in which he was opposed by Auchmutty
Read and Littles, is preserved, manifesting great familiarity with
legal principles, as well as ability as an advocate. He is also said t
have been an agreeable and expressive speaker."

A number of his pleas and briefs may be found in the volumes of Province Laws, and although, in the above reference to the Matson-Thomas suit, it is not stated who won, there may seem to be, to one prejudiced in his favor, an intimation that Mr. Valentine did. Be that as it may, it was a distinction for him to be chosen to represent one of the contestants, as the lawyers on the other side were of the highest standing. See what was said about two of them, Mr. Auchmutty and Mr. Read, in an article concerning "Some Colonial Lawyers," published in *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1889:

> "The Eighteenth Century opened a new era in the administration of justice. A decided improvement was noticeable in the forms of proceedings, in the dignity and impartiality of the courts, and in the ability and integrity of the attorneys. In Massachusetts this was due largely to four men whose careers extended over the first half of the Eighteenth Century. They constituted the first group of eminent lawyers in Massachusetts. They were Benjamin Lynde, Paul Dudley, John Read and Robert Auchmutty, the elder. The first three were graduates of Harvard College. Lynde and Dudley, after a thorough course in law at the Temple in London, returned to the Colony, and were soon called to the bench of the Superior Court, filling between them the position of Chief Justice from 1728 to 1751."

Perhaps the alliance with the Lynde family, increasing the social prestige of John Valentine, may have brought him practice from new and profitable sources. Certainly, the every-day citizen had no very friendly feeling for him as the years went by. Why this was so is made clear by a careful historian, Andrew McFarland Davis, who, in commenting upon the fact that Mr. Valentine's name does not appear frequently in the early records of Boston, says: "It is quite likely that Valentine's appointment as Notary Public, June 3, 1698, and again, October 24, 1712, and his elevation to the position of Justice of the Peace, April 16, 1718, may explain the absence of his name from the records. The simple fact that the appointments were made is equivalent to pages of biography of the man. They stamp him, even before he was elevated to the conspicuous position of Attorney General, as one of the hated class of office-holders through

Governmental appointment, with whom, in the days of politic excitement in the Province, the townspeople of Boston had little do, and for whom, in the management of their daily affairs, the had no use whatever. It is not unlikely that the holder of a cor mission of Notary Public was the object of more than ordina suspicion . . . Valentine's services as Notary have left traces his career on our records. The most prominent of these was h ex-officio service as Register of the Court at the trial of Capta Quelch and his company for piracy."

In Volume VIII of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Mass chusetts Bay* perhaps ten or a dozen pages are taken for a review a suit in which Mr. Valentine appeared. This report sets forth tha "The case was argued before the Full Bench, but the point take being novel and perlexing, the Court ordered the clerk to make th following entry in his records"—which entry will not be given her however, since it would mean but little without a long statemer explaining what the suit was about. Nevertheless, an attorney wh could perplex the Full Bench, as Mr. Valentine did, would have t possess unusual legal ability.

On one occasion at least he was chosen by the authorities Charlestown to represent the town in a suit, and he appeared als in a case before the General Court in which the ancient Roxbur Latin School was involved. Repeated mention of him occurs in Judg Sewall's diary; as, for example, about traveling with him. In th records of the Province there is an entry in 1719 of "A Memorial John Valentine, Esquire, Praying an allowance from this Court fo his services as Attorney General, and especially for his Journey t Plymouth, which he undertook purely in the interest of the Goverr ment." This application, which was modest in terms, was promptl granted, as if the Court did not question at all the value of th services.

CHAPTER 5

WHAT a pity that John Valentine did not keep a diary, like so many other men of his time! His views, some of them at least, about persons and events would be interesting and enlightening. Possibly he did keep one, but if so it is lost forever. Although holding himself aloof from the masses, as may be presumed from what is known about him, he was not unmindful of certain obligations which men of his class often assume voluntarily and willingly. For example, in the early part of 1711, when plans were in the making for an expedition (commonly called the Hill-Walker expedition) against Canada, then under control of the French, large funds were needed. Massachusetts furnished £40,000 toward provisioning the fleet—ten times as much, by the way, as New York. John Valentine was one of those to whom the General Court gave a vote of thanks for the patriotism shown in supplying this loan.

It was on June 8 that a fleet of fifteen men-of-war and forty transports arrived in Boston harbor, with more than five thousand men. Two regiments raised in New England joined the other soldiers, all encamping on what was at that time called Noddle's Island, now East Boston. As the Governor was attending a congress at New London, it became the pleasant duty of "the Gentlemen of her Majesty's Council to receive his Excellency Brigadier Hill, Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's forces in North America, and the Honorable Sir Hovenden Walker, Knt., Admiral of her Majesty's fleet in the present expedition," as one writer made note of the event. And so, with pomp and ceremony, the visitors were conducted to the Town House, where a formal welcome was extended in a manner befitting such an occasion.

But the expedition turned out disastrously, nine ships being wrecked in the St. Lawrence River during a terrible storm, and nine hundred lives lost. Not an acre of land was added to the territory of Queen Anne as a result of this undertaking.

Remembering that John Valentine became in due time a valued member of the parish of the King's Chapel, his biographer should recount the steps taken to establish this church.

Under a charter granted by Charles I to "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," with John Winthrop as the first Governor, the emigrants who settled in Boston had been getting on quite well, choosing for themselves and from themselves those who were to fill the civil offices. But when James II, on ascending the throne, decided to revoke the Company's charter and appoint Sir Edmund Andros to be the royal Governor of the Province, the colonists were greatly disturbed.

Some time before, the Reverend Robert Ratcliffe had tried to persuade the ministers to allow the followers of the Church of England to use one of the churches in Boston for holding services a part of every Sunday, as he called it, rather than the Sabbath. All the clergymen refused. In substance they said: "The churches belong to us. We need them for our own use on the Lord's Day. You may occupy the library room in the Town House—that's a good enough place to hold your meetings until the people who really wish to have services like those of the Church of England provide something better." And after all efforts to obtain a concession had failed, the "Episcopalians" (so called here merely as a convenient way to designate them, as there were, of course, no Episcopalians until the Protestant Episcopal Church of America was established) —the "Episcopalians," on June 18, 1686, held their first service at the Town House, with only ten persons present. They continued to worship there; but on the very day in December when Governor Andros landed, he took steps to obtain for them the use of one of the churches a part of the time.

Christmas came just after his arrival, and he attended the services at the Town House, escorted by a soldier on either hand. He continued to go there, but in March he demanded occupancy of the South Meeting-house on Sunday mornings, making the regular worshipers wait until his own clergyman was through.

This went on for two years, to the great inconvenience and annoyance of the members of the South Church. Meanwhile Andros, after failing to get possession of any other satisfactory building site, took

Drawing by Alice B. Johnston

THE KING'S CHAPEL

It was a plain building fronting on Treamount Street, close to the ancient Latin School in School Street.

part of the burying-ground at the corner of Treamount and School treets. An unpretentious building was erected there, to be known s the King's Chapel. For a long time there were no pews, but the ir ishings were rather rich, including a costly communion service o n King William and Queen Mary, besides other gifts from the overeigns; and along the walls, and hanging from pillars, were scutcheons of royalty and other embellishments. The chapel was ccupied for the first time in June, 1689. In 1710 it was enlarged to wice its original size, as the parish was growing fast.

But Andros, who had ruled in such a tryannical manner during is rather brief tenure of office, was destined never to have the atisfaction of worshipping in the King's Chapel. When James II as deposed, Andros was sent, by royal orders, to England, after aving been held for a long time as a prisoner. This was in April, 689, only a few weeks before the Chapel was opened.

It would be perfectly reasonable to suppose that the elder Valentines, having been brought up in the Church of England, would ave been among the first to participate in the services held at the Town House, yet the scanty records of those early meetings do not how this to be the case. However, it has already been explained hat John Valentine, Senior, was obliged to join some one of the hurches existing in 1675 in order to become a freeman; and, after vorshipping there for eleven years, he may have been content to tay, rather than go to the Town House, which he possibly found ard to accept as a church.

At a later period, nevertheless, his son did his share of church work, serving as a vestryman and a warden of the King's Chapel or some years. He started as a vestryman in 1712, and in that year contributed toward the cost of enlarging the building. At a meeting of the vestry of "Her Majesties Chappell in Boston" near the end of 1713, when Queen Anne was on the throne, he was one of the signers of a communication to "The honorable Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," relating to the proposed settlement of Bishops in America. The signers were the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, ministers and vestry. In the list of "Well disposed Gentlemen and other Persons that contributed

> and out of his super-abundant Loyalty to King George and Love to the Protestant Succession, proposed that all the Inhabitants of the Town should have the Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration tendered to them before they might be allowed to vote . . . He went on with his talk as pertinently as a man may be supposed to do, if he should undertake to prove that Lawyer and Liar are synonymous terms. . . . This extremely exasperated the Town, when there are perhaps not 400 more true and loyal subjects (with humble submission to Lancashire Jack) in the King's Dominions. But 't is generally supposed he came (as a tool) to set the Town by the Ears, and hinder the expected Choice."

An aristocratic air doubtless was perfectly natural to him, bu the townfolk resented it. That is not at all strange. Intelligen industrious, home-loving people, they regarded themselves as ever bit as good as he was. In the December following, the Assembl asserted a right to elect notaries, and adopted a resolution fo bidding one particular man to perform the duties of such office although he insisted upon his right to act under a commissio issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Of course, anybody wh held Gubernatorial authority, like Mr. Valentine, was especiall unpopular. But knowledge that this was so may not have disturbe him very greatly, although it is safe to say that he, John Valentine Gentleman, of Lancaster County, England, would not really relis being flippantly called "Lancashire Jack," or that he would viev with perfect indifference and complacency the personal abuse i which some of his opponents freely indulged in their pamphlets o letters.

Andrew McFarland Davis, who has already been quoted, give in a few words an idea of Mr. Valentine as he probably was, thus "He was obviously haughty in manner, and aristocratic in his way of life; a follower of the little Provincial court set up by the Gover nor; a cultivated lawyer, an adroit special pleader, and a looker down upon the crude attempts of his fellow-citizens to wrest from the Governor and Council some of the powers of government which had been taken from them through the annulment of the Colonia charter and the substitution therefor of a Provincial government Fiercely hated, he was atrociously maligned."

THE VALENTINES' HOME IN MARLBOROUGH STREET

Was about 160 feet from the corner of Summer Street, going North, or in the direction of what was then called Cornhill, which, like Newbury and Marlborough Streets, ultimately became a part of the present Washington Street. The lot extended back to Bishop's Alley, afterward known as Hawley Street.

CHAPTER 6

MARLBOROUGH STREET, where the Valentines established their permanent home, was that part of the present Washington Street lying between School and Winter Streets. It must have been a favored place for residences, being so near the Town House, outh Meeting-house, the King's Chapel, Province House and atin School. On the western side the lots, or some of them, appear o have been rather large, as a map printed in 1722 shows only a ew houses on that side between Winter Street and Rawson's Lane, ow Bromfield Street. It was a time when there were lawns and ne old trees. The Province House, at it was finally called, was of ourse especially noticeable.

Now, the Marlborough-Street property of the Valentines came o them in happy circumstances; that is to say, it was, according o Nathaniel Bowditch, a prominent conveyancer who patiently repared records of a vast number of transactions, with drawings f plots (the book is a much-prized possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society)—according to Bowditch there was a deed of ift, dated March 12, 1708/9, in which Samuel Lynde and Mariana, is wife, "for love and affection for their son-in-law, John Valentine, nd his wife Mary, their only child," conveyed the property to hem. The estate was on the east side of Marlborough Street, the ot being by far the largest one there; for, although the frontage as only fifty feet, the lot, gradually widening, extended in an asterly direction two hundred and sixty-seven feet to Bishop's lley, afterward called Hawley Street, where the back line was inety feet long. At present the ground is a part of the site of a reat department store whose main entrance on Washington Street omes pretty near marking just where the Valentine's lot was ituated.

Something about the new home is recorded in *A Book of Allownces from the Major Part of the Justices within the Town of Boston o Persons for Building with Timber in the Said Town*. The date is

May 17, 1710, and this is the exact language of the entry or allow ance:

> "To John Valentine of Boston, Gentleman, to cover with Shingle a Brick house, of about 47 feet in length and 26 deep, which is now building in Marlborough Street; also to make of Timber part of a Kitchen behind the sd house; as also a new to set up with Timber an Old building of about Eighteen feet square which he hath removed to the lower part of his Orchard."

It is interesting and significant that the English custom c designating the Valentines as Gentlemen was followed in thi instance, as it is the only time the complimentary word was used i the Book of Allowances in many years.

Take a moment at this point to conjure up and enjoy a charmin view of an orchard in blossom in the heart of that busy city squar bounded today by Washington, Franklin, Summer and Hawle Streets!

For a time Judge Sewall had his home in Marlborough Street or just beyond the point where it ended, and Newbury Street began So did future Governor Bradstreet and Lieutenant Governor Wil liam Dummer. Another prominent resident was Sir Charles Hobby The splendid mansion built by Peter Sargeant, afterward known a the Province House, was vacated by him when he married th widow of Sir William Phips, and Sir Charles leased it. One of hi children was born there. Subsequently Sir Charles bought property on the north corner of what is now Bromfield Street, entertainin in lavish style there, with seven slaves to attend the family an guests. It happened, by the way, that one of his grand-daughter married a son of John Valentine.

In their Marlborough-Street home the Valentines probably live handsomely. They had the means to do so, and their social standin must have been high, not only on account of the recognition of Mr Valentine by the Royal Government, but also because the Lynde were classed among the foremost families of the town. As has beer briefly stated, a father and son in the Lynde family both filled the honorable office of Chief Justice of the Superior Court. The Lynde were allied with the Digbys and Newdigates, whose ancestry ha

been definitely traced back for several centuries. With such an illustrious background as both Mr. and Mrs. Valentine possessed, it would have been strange if they had not come to regard themselves as superior to the mass of town folk.

One writer about old-time Boston said: "Able men, in each generation, rose to the privileged positions. Those of our Colonists who were of the gentry at home kept to the traditions of their class here. They lived in better style than the others, they held most of the offices, and they intermarried, so as to constitute an allied section of the community. The clergy and other graduates of Harvard were generally admitted to the same circle; and naturally, the richest part of the merchant circle could not be excluded." In line with the foregoing quotation it may be mentioned here that Judge Sewall recorded on one occasion in that wonderful diary of his that the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and the Justices were all entertained by the Valentines; and it seems fair to presume that dignitaries of such rank were not accustomed to pay any too freely the honor of granting their aristocratic presence in a body at private gatherings.

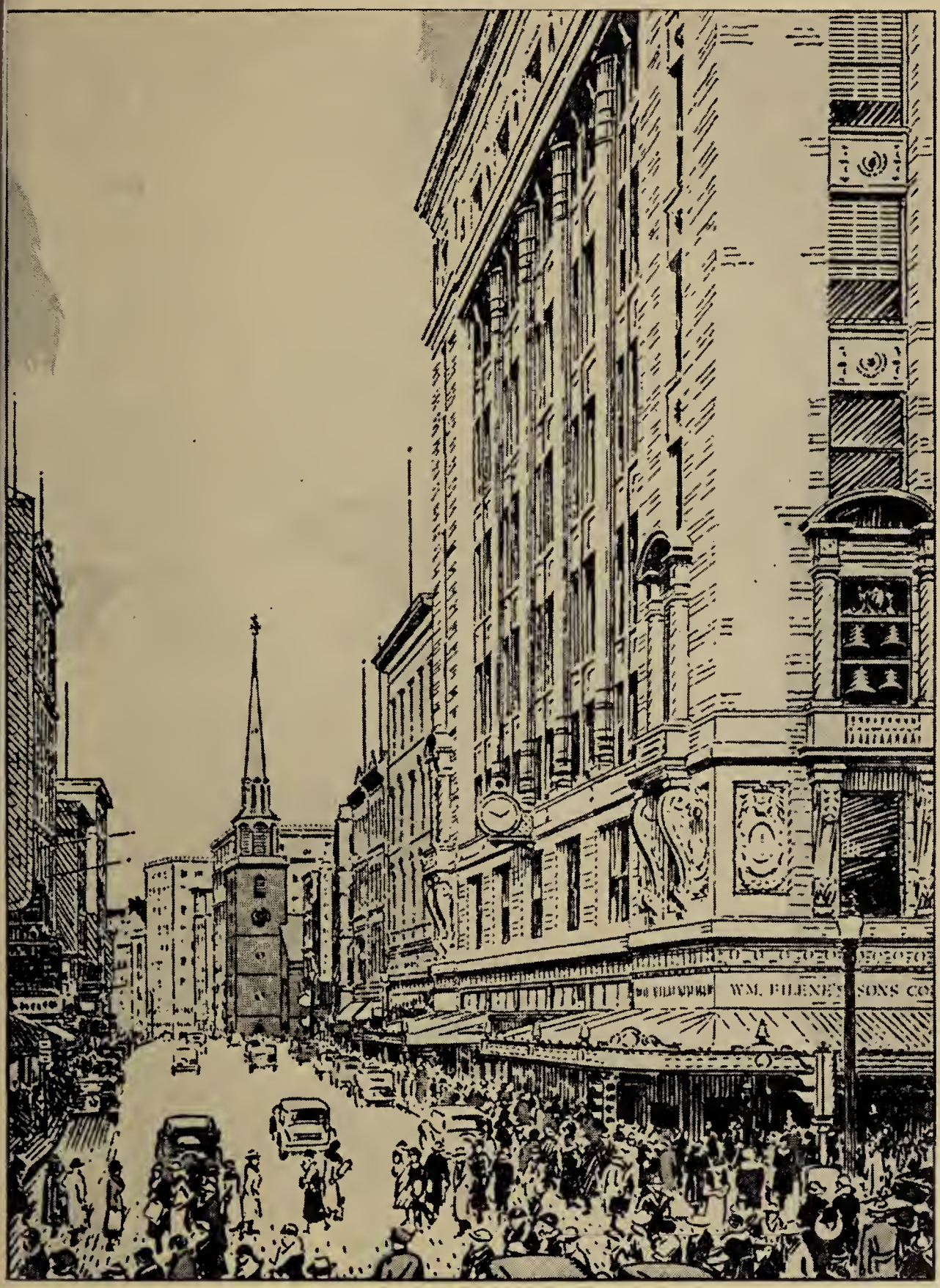
Nobody, perhaps, has ever given a better description of the social side of life in the Province than the late Reverend George E. Ellis, D.D., a former President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in one of the articles he contributed more than half a century ago to the *Memorial History of Boston*. This description is so graphic that a generous extract will be subjoined:

> "A review of the administration of Massachusetts by Crown Governors," says Dr. Ellis, "would be incomplete without a reference to the social influences wrought in Boston, the capital of the Province, by the presence of such officials. Boston became the scene and centre of a miniature Court, with the state, the forms, and ceremonies of a vice-royalty. Without any set purpose or intent to insure that result, it was, in effect, realized. A knight, a baronet, and even an earl, though but an Irish one, were among the commissioned chief Magistrates of the Province. Wherever such titled personages discharge the functions of royalty, with their subordinates

and dependents, they offer the essential elements and the component materials of a Court. The consequent incidents of parade, etiquette, precedence and observance came in to complete, after a fashion, something which imitated the original at the residence of the monarch himself. A stately edifice, assigned and furnished with reference to the public uses of royal functionaries, and a consecrated edifice where the forms of the national religion may be observed with dignity by an authorized priest, will contribute other helps to constitute a real Court. The direct influence and agency of the Crown appeared and forced themselves upon the notice of the native population, who loved the old ways. Sewall, who as Judge and Councillor, was high in office under the Provincial government till near the end of his life, was a cautious but a sad participant in and observer of the changes around him. His diary is but a record of regrets and sorrows over the decay of the old piety, and the intrusion of hated reminders of what the fathers rejected and left for their wilderness home.

"The middle classes of society,—and they were nearly the whole of it,—the thrifty mechanics and industrious toilers in their plain households and their inherited habits of piety, were often shocked and grieved at what they saw. Scarlet had not been a favorite color with them. The royal insignia had scarce been seen by the mass of the people. The train bands of the Colony, with indigenous officers and a drill peculiar to them, marching only to fife and drum, were a jeer to the regulars which Randolph and Andros introduced here. With the royal Governor and the Collector of the Customs came a retinue of subordinates who very soon made quite a distinct class among the residents. None of these new comers were induced by anything attractive in the manners or ways of the native stock to conform to them, while fashion, novelty and freedom had a natural tendency to draw many of the people of the town to the Court party. It was one of the fretting experiences even of many of the higher and more intelligent classes of our home population to observe how what they regarded as corrupting and demoralizing influences wrought through the new elements upon the old.

"Even the costumes and equipages which came in with the new rulers had their effect upon the staid and frugal



On the Site of John Valentine's Home

The entrance to his grounds was just about at the farther end of the tall building in the foreground of this present-day view.

people of the town. The gold lace, the ruffled cuffs, the scarlet uniforms, the powdered wigs, the swords, the small-clothes, the buckles, the elaborate state of the Governor, the robes of the judges, the chariot-and-four, with liveried black footmen, were tokens of a changed and impaired heritage to the old folks, the more so because they saw that their children were taken by them. There had been deferential manners, official stateliness and distinguishing apparel, with stiffness and elaborate etiquette in the Colonial times; and social distinction had been formally observed. But these had been of a sort not indicative of assumption or arrogance by the privileged class, nor to induce obsequiousness on the part of the common people; for the honors and places which they had themselves bestowed would be recognized with a self-respect not always felt in the deference paid to titled emptiness or pride.

"The Province itself, and especially its capital, was then able to furnish from itself a few who would grace a Court in costume and manners, in fashion, civility and display. There were persons of intelligence, wealth and culture here, who had traveled, seen the world, and caught dignity and polish. The mode of dress for the gentry, the material and shape of garments, were in keeping with parade and formality. Some persons here had then begun to have 'ancestors'; indeed, a few had begun to be ancestors themselves, so that they could have their portraits painted, when abroad or at home, by Smibert, Blackburn or Copley, in brocade and lace, in wig and queue, in frill and wristlets, in head-dress or in powder.

"Between the families of the Crown officers, who by no means were all gentry, and the professional and rich mercantile classes there was constant intercourse, a round of gayeties, dinner and evening parties, assemblies and masquerades.

"The Province House, so called, was the central scene of the chief pageantries, gayeties and formalities of the vice-Court in Boston. This stately and comfortable mansion, with its fitting accompaniments, was not built for the occupancy of the royal Governors. It was at first a private residence. The builder, owner and first occupant was Peter Sargeant, a rich London merchant who came to

> Boston in 1667. His lot, a hundred feet wide and three hundred deep, had some fine old trees upon it. The house, standing far back from the highway, was of brick; spacious, elegant, convenient, and in tasteful style, with all proper adornments. It was three stories, with a gambrel roof and a lofty cupola. From the street a paved driveway led up to the house, and a palatial doorway, reached by massive stone steps, gave access to the interior. A spacious hall, with easy stairway, richly carved balustrades, panelled and corniced parlors with deep-throated chimnies, furnishings, hangings, and all the paraphernalia of luxury, were there. The wide court-yard offered a fine space for military evolutions at the reception of a dignitary standing upon the steps of the mansion."

That the Valentines would frequently be included in the list c guests invited to attend the festive assemblies at the Province Hous seems altogether natural; hardly any need to stress that point. An so, with the imagination given a little free play, they may be pic tured as figuring in "the old-time scenes of stately ceremonial, off cial pomp or social gayety; at many a dinner, rout or ball, wher dames magnificent in damask and brocade, towering head-dress an hoop petticoat,—where cavaliers in rival finery of velvet or satin with gorgeous waistcoats of solid gold brocade, with wigs of ever shape, with glittering swords dangling about their silken hose,— where, in fine, the wise, the witty, gay and learned, the leaders i authority in thought and in fashion, the flower of old Provincia life, trooped in full tide through the wainscoted and tapestrie rooms, and up the grand old winding staircase, with its carve balustrades and square landing-places, to do honor to the hospi tality of the Governor."

Those years in the Marlborough-Street house must have beer the happiest of all for the Valentines. True, sorrow came to the family, as two of the children died during this period; but three more were born, so there were five left in the household. All the comforts which wealth could command appear to have been available. The house afforded ample room for small dances and other social gatherings. If Mrs. Valentine was fond of flowers, she had

The Famous Province House

It stood in Marlborough Street, now Washington Street, opposite the present site of the Transcript Building. Bought in 1716 as a residence for the Royal Governors, it was the scene of many splendid social events; but today no trace of it remains.

space enough in the large yard for all she could possibly wish to cultivate. In the Summer, garden parties may have been a favored form of entertainment. Doubtless the family had as many friends of their own class as they could desire; in short, they seem to have been exceptionally fortunate.

It was during his residence in Marlborough Street, a span of fifteen years, that Mr. Valentine received so many honors from the Government: appointment and reappointment to offices of distinction, and under different Sovereigns and Governors, too—which indicates that either the man's capacity for responsibility, or his personal charm, was so unusual as to keep him in high favor year after year. He may not have been troubled in any marked degree by his knowledge that the masses disliked him, so long as he stood well with the royal authorities and was able to observe the customs and uphold the traditions of the class with which he was allied. It seems reasonable to believe that, if he had been ambitious to become one of the justices of the Superior Court, that desire might have been realized; but he probably preferred to follow other paths, where there was a freer opportunity for individuality of action, and the successful performance of such duties as fell to his lot afforded more satisfaction and keener enjoyment than he perhaps fancied could be obtained from occupying a seat on the bench.

CHAPTER 7

ONE twelve-month followed another until 1724 came. Boston had become an important place in America, with a population of eighteen thousand or more. Reviewing the honors that had been conferred upon him in the capital of the Province, and possibly experiencing anew the feeling of pride that had arisen in him as his distinction had increased with the passing of time; turning over, in an imaginary book of memories, those pages on which happy events were recorded; realizing that already his rather short life had been notable enough to make him well remembered, John Valentine may have had, nevertheless, some foreboding. There may have been black clouds which nobody else saw, for the end was near. It came on the first day of February, when a promising career was terminated by his own inexplicable act. One may picture the intense anxiety in the household when he was missed and could not be found; the distress of his family increasing fast until a shocking discovery made any further search unnecessary. Judge Sewall made a note of the apalling tragedy in this way:

> "*Saturday, February the first*———
> John Valentine, Esquire, went out in the morning to speak with Mr. Auchmuty, but found him not at home. He staid so long before he returned home that his family grew uneasy, and sent to many places in the Town to enquire after him. At last they searched his own house from chamber to chamber and closet to closet. At last Mr. Bowdoin looked into the cock-loft in the north end of the house, that had no light but from the stairs, and there, by his Candle-light, saw him hanging by his sash. This was about 7 a-clock, when the Town was much alarmed to hear that Mr. Valentine had Conveyed himself away. Captain Pollard, the Coroner, gave a constable a warrant to summon a Jury. 18 were empannelled and sworn. Some Justices and many Attorneys were present. The Jury returned that he was *Non Compos*. Notwithstanding all this bustle, I had not the least inkling of it before the Lord's

> Day morning, when Scipio came from Watching, and told me of it. At Captain Timothy Clark's motion, I writ a Permit for Mrs. Valentine's Negro to ride to Free-Town, to tell her Son that his father died last night."

Mrs. Valentine probably had four of her children with her, but the oldest of these, a daughter, was only seventeen. It was her first son, Samuel, who was at Free Town, near Fall River, and had to be summoned home; and it was because the law against traveling on the Sabbath was strictly enforced that the Negro servant who was to act as messenger was provided by Judge Sewall with a permit.

One may quite naturally speculate as to the precise object of Mr. Valentine's call at Mr. Auchmuty's that last Saturday morning in his life. Was it just one of those every-day matters between two lawyers who often appeared together in court in some case, with the outcome of the call of no great consequence to either?—or was it, on the other hand, an affair of such vital importance to Mr. Valentine that the disappointment experienced by him in missing his friend was so deep as suddenly to affect his mind disastrously? And if Mr. Auchmuty had only been found, might the terrible tragedy which occurred so soon afterward possibly have been averted? That suicide was committed on a sudden impulse seems to be indicated by the use of a convenient sash to tie around a beam in the attic.

Here is something curious about this matter. The builder of the South Meeting-house kept in a peculiar fashion a journal inscribed: "Joshua Blanchard—His Book." It covered quite a space of time, although there were only a dozen pages in all. In most cases the exact dates are missing, as the writer was content to enter only the year, or maybe the year and month. In the extract which will appear below he followed the *Old Style* of the calendar, using 1723 for a note concerning the suicide in February, 1724. This is what he wrote:

> 1723 a bout fifty men in Boston
> one half knaves the other half
> fools addressed his majesty as the
> principle men to corroberate

a scandalous memoral the gouoner
Exhibeted against the Countery
Mr Valentine ye lawyer who
was supposed to have a hand in
said memoral hanged himself——

So Mr. Blanchard indirectly and mysteriously suggests that there was some connection between the tragedy and a memorial submitted by the Governor to King George I. His reason for doing so is not at all clear, as there is no hint in his journal as to the character of the memorial, or what the outcome was. Possibly Mr. Blanchard was very superstitious, and really believed that Fate actually took toll from Mr. Valentine for being identified with the memorial in question. More probably, however, he had a deep-rooted dislike for the unfortunate man, as indicated by virtually classing him as either a "knave" or a "fool;" and the page in his journal may therefore be only an example of the malevolence in which perfectly good citizens often indulged when an opportunity came to show how they regarded those men who held offices under the Crown.

Taking into account Mr. Valentine's place in the community, one might expect to find that he was, as he had hoped would be the case when he wrote his will, "decently interred," with nothing whatever to mar in the least degree the solemnity of the occasion; but, as a matter of fact, distressing unpleasantness arose. Although the coroner's jury had brought in a verdict of *non compos*, that did not satisfy the narrow-minded rector of the King's Chapel, the Reverend Samuel Myles. Proper arrangements had been made for a funeral, and Mr. Myles probably knew what the plans were; yet, according to Judge Sewall's diary, this is what happened:

"Persons and Bearers were invited, and the Bells Told, as customarily at Funerals. Judge Davenport and Colonel Fitch were invited to be Bearers, and came. But when they saw Mr. Myles refused to read the Office of Burial, they ask'd excuse, and went away. Bearers were Mr. Secretary Willard (a titular brother), Mr. Jno. Nelson,

Mr. Attorney General Read, Mr. Robt Auchmuty, Mr. Overing and Mr. Robinson. Four Justices were there; Mr. Secr. Willard, Mr. Daniel Oliver (a Relation of the Widow), Capt. Timo Clark, and Mr. John Ruck. Five Ministers; Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, Mr. Thomas Foxcroft, Mr. Samuel Myles, Mr. Henry Harris, and Mr. Mossman of Marblehead, and much people. This Funeral seemed to me as if the Widow would brave it out against the Terrible Providence of God."

It is rather strange that Judge Sewall did not complete his account of the proceedings, but a historian of the King's Chapel cleared up the matter. After mentioning the refusal of the rector to take part in the services for one of his former wardens he said: "Mr. Myles's assistant, however, had a gentler spirit. 'Mr. Harris [a clergyman] and Mr. Auchmuty having given oath of his distraction, he had a funerall, and was buryed in the Church yard.' "

A diarist of that period made an entry, nevertheless, to the effect that "He was buryed in ye church on ye 4th day of ye month." There were, in fact, some tombs under the chapel. Ex-Mayor Shurtleff speaks of them in his history of Boston, saying that special provision was made for the Reverend Samuel Myles, for Sir Henry Frankland, and for the wife and daughter of Governor William Shirley (the Governor himself, by the way, was entombed there in 1771; but it was under the new church, the corner-stone of which had been laid by the Governor more than twenty years before).

The diarist just mentioned above may have been among the "much people" noted by Judge Sewall, and probably it really was under the chapel itself, rather than in the yard, that Mr. Valentine's body was laid away—for remember that it was in February.

Considering the painful delay at the funeral services, it was natural that the widow should wish to have something published in the way of a tribute to her husband's memory; so the following item was inserted in the *Boston News-Letter* on February 13, 1724:

"On Tuesday, the 4th instant, The Corps of John Valentine, Esq., His Majesty's Advocate General for the Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and Colony of Rhode Island, was here decently Interred. He

was a Gentleman for his Knowledge & Integrity most Eminent in his Profession, Clear in his Conceptions, and Distinguishable happy in his Expressions. It pleased GOD, some short time before his Death, to deprive him of those Excellent Endowments by afflicting him with a deep Melancholly which brought on the Loss of his Reason, and was the Cause of his much Lamented Death."

After reading this expression of affection, Judge Sewall, who at times, in spite of all the kind things said about him, must have appeared detestable to some of his fellow-townsmen, published on March 19, with extremely bad taste, not to say amazing unkindness, this advertisement:

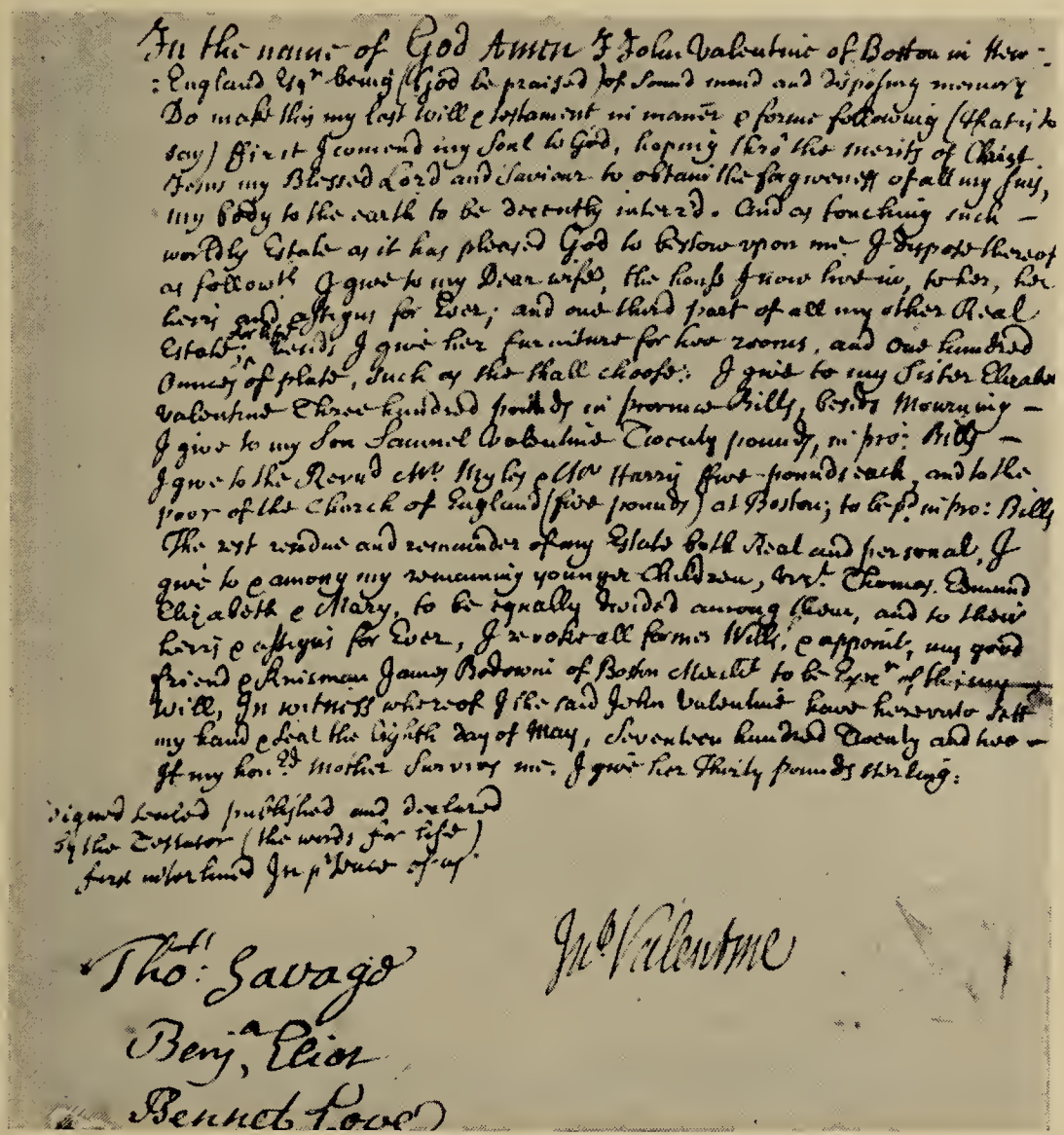
"A CALL TO THE TEMPTED. A Sermon on the horrid Crime of Self Murder, Preached on a Remarkable Occasion by the Memorable Dr. Increase Mather. And now Published from his Notes for a Charitable Stop to suicides. Sold by Samuel Gerrish at his Shop near the Brick Meeting-house in Corn-hill, Boston."

If anything reflecting on John Valentine's character had come to light after his death it is altogether probable that Judge Sewall would not have ignored such a rare morsel when posting his diary. No, indeed; and as there was no entry of that sort, it is a justifiable conclusion that no "blot on the 'scutcheon" was discovered, and that Mr. Valentine closed his life by his own act solely because his reason suddenly deserted him.

It may perhaps comfort some sensitive members of the Valentine family to be told that nowhere, in all the research made to obtain material for this book, has any other case of suicide by a member of the family been discovered—just this single instance in a period of more than two hundred years.

Mr. Valentine's will, written in his clear hand, on a small letter sheet, about two years before his death, is interesting, particularly because it gives a glimpse of the religious side of his character. Here it is:

In the name of God, Amen. I, JOHN VALENTINE of Boston, in New England, being (God be praised) of sound



In the name of God Amen I John Valentine of Boston in New-England Esqr being (God be praised for) sound mind and disposing memory Do make this my last will & testament in manner & forme following (that is to say) First I commend my Soul to God, hoping thro' the merits of Christ Jesus my Blessed Lord and Saviour to obtain the forgiveness of all my sins, my Body to the earth to be decently interred. And as touching such worldly Estate as it has pleased God to bestow upon me I dispose thereof as followeth I give to my Dear wife, the house I now live in, to her heirs and assigns for Ever; and one third part of all my other Real Estate, lands I give her furniture for two rooms, and one hundred Ounces of plate, such as she shall choose: I give to my Sister Elizabeth Valentine three hundred pounds in money Bills, besides Mourning — I give to my Son Samuel Valentine twenty pounds, in pro: Bills — I give to the Revd Mr Ilsley & Mr Harris five pounds each, and to the poor of the Church of England (five pounds) at Boston; to be p in pro: Bills The rest residue and remainder of my Estate both Real and personal, I give to & among my remaining younger Children, viz. Thomas, Edmund Elizabeth & Mary, to be equally divided among them, and to their heirs & assigns for Ever, I revoke all former Wills, & appoint, my good friend & Kinsman James Bowdoin of Boston Merchant to be Exr of this my Will, In witness whereof I the said John Valentine have hereunto set my hand & seal the eighth day of May, Seventeen hundred Seventy and two — If my hond Mother Survives me I give her Thirty pounds Sterling:

Signed Sealed published and declared
by the Testator (the words for rise
first interlined) In p'sence of us.

Jn° Valentine

Tho: Savage
Benj: Elliot
Benct Pon

JOHN VALENTINE'S WILL

Reproduced directly from the original document filed at the Suffolk County Registry in Boston

mind and disposing memory, do make this my last will and testament in manner and form following (that is to say) First, I commend my Soul to GOD, hoping through the merits of CHRIST JESUS, my blessed LORD and SAVIOUR, to obtain the forgiveness of all my sins. My body to the earth, to be decently interred. And touching such worldly estate as it has pleased God to bestow upon me I dispose of them as followeth:

I give to my dear wife the House I now live in, to her, her heirs and assigns forever, and one Third part of all my other Real Estate for life; besides I give her furniture for two rooms and one hundred of plate such as she shall choose.

I give to my sister Elizabeth Valentine Three hundred pounds in Province Bills, besides mourning.

I give to my son Samuel Valentine Twenty pounds in Province Bills. The rest and remainder of my estate both real and personal I give to and among my remaining younger children, viz: Thomas, Edmund, Elizabeth and Mary, to be equally divided among them, and to their heirs and assigns forever.

I revoke all former wills and appoint my good friend and kinsman James Bowdoin, of Boston, Merchant, to be Executor of this my will.

In witness whereof I, the said John Valentine, have hereunto set my hand and seal the eighth day of May, Seventeen hundred and twenty-two. If my honored mother survives me I give her Thirty Pounds sterling.

JOHN VALENTINE

Signed, sealed, published and declaired by the Testator. The words "for life" interlined in presence of us.

Th. Savage
Benjamin Eliot
Bennet Love

Included in the inventory were several houses in good parts of the town; for Mr. Valentine seems to have displayed much sagacity in his purchase of real estate and to have profited by his ventures in the realty market. The collection of household plate must have been large, as it was estimated to be worth 323 pounds sterling, which is an indication of the opulent style in which the family doubtless lived. What wouldn't some of Mr. Valentine's descend-

ants give today for a few choice pieces of that plate! There was th equivalent of about nine hundred dollars in cash in the house. Thre slaves were mentioned with the other property. The total valuatio of the estate was fixed at about 4,200 pounds sterling, a sizabl amount, as money was reckoned in those early times.

Any searcher for all the facts about John Valentine's publi career could hardly escape confusion as to dates, because some o the references to him in different books appear to be conflicting. And it would puzzle one to find a satisfactory excuse for certain omissions of which William H. Whitmore, an able historian, was guilty in preparing what is supposed to be a correct *List of Civi Officers of the Colony of Massachusetts*. Mr. Valentine's name is not included in the rolls of Attorneys General or Advocates General, although it is found elsewhere in the book. However, as well as his official services can be outlined in chronological order, here is the story; and this is a proper place to say again that, in his lifetime, such positions as Justice of the Peace and Notary Public carried with them distinction and authority of a high order not conferred and recognized today in connection with such offices:

Appointed Notary Public	*June* 3,	1698
A document verified by him shows that he was "Notary and Tabellion Public for Massachusetts Bay" in		1706
Reappointed Notary Public	*October* 24,	1712
Again appointed Notary Public	*December* 10,	1715
Appointed Justice of the Peace	*April* 16,	1718
Mentioned in Judge Sewall's diary as "Our new Attorney General" in	*November*,	1718
Referred to himself, in a petition, as "Attorney General" in		1719
The *Boston News-Letter* stated that he took the required oaths as "His Majesty's Advocate General for the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and the Colony of Rhode Island" in	*July*,	1720

John Valentine

In the tribute published in the *News-Letter* after his death he was called by his widow "His Majesty's Advocate General for the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and Colony of Rhode Island" in *February*, 1724

It is distressing to a student of history to be forced to realize hat there remains only scanty knowledge of some of the men who ere outstanding figures in their day. John Valentine is a good xample, considering what is actually known of him and his high eputation for professional learning and skill in practice. Of his ontemporaries it was Judge Sewall who left to posterity the largest ontribution of information as to what was going on in the Proince from day to day, but even what he wrote of men and things s rather vexing, because he might have told more.

There is nothing at all, anywhere, to help one in forming an idea is to the personal appearance of Mr. Valentine. If his portrait was ainted, as not improbably was the case, it has disappeared; may erhaps have been destroyed in some fire. It is likely that he dressed ell; mention of three swords with silver handles in the inventory f his estate indicates that he was accustomed to wear a sword henever the occasion called for it, and his elevation to different ublic offices of dignity would naturally influence him to be rather particular about his looks at all times.

Doubtless he would have been dropped by those high in authority if he had not attended faithfully and well to all the duties of his several official positions, proving himself to be quick in expedient and also to possess an ample measure of legal aptitude. "An agreeable speaker," Judge Washburn said of him; which may mean, in general terms, that the cultivation of a gentleman made it natural and easy for him to present his arguments in such a deferential and gracious way as to win close attention at once, and soon to command respect. It may have been characteristic of him to seek to convince the justices and juries before whom he appeared by appealing in an urbane manner to their reason, instead of trying to impress them by employing passionate oratory.

To the townfolk at large John Valentine may indeed have seeme to be a haughty man, not inclined to stop in the street when mee ing some of his acquaintances, in order to bestow compliments an indulge in light chat; disposed, perhaps, when in court, to take fu advantage of every point he could make in favor of his clients, an maybe to object firmly to any proposals made to yield to his adve saries, something trifling, just as a matter of courtesy—such thing may possibly be counted against him without doing the least ir justice. Yet he was a good citizen, acting his part here and ther when satisfied that it was his duty; and who can ever know ho considerate, how affectionate he may have been in his own famil circle, and how dearly beloved? Certainly there is the positive an gratifying evidence of the secure and warm place he had in th hearts of his father-in-law and mother-in-law when, seven year after his marriage, instead of deeding the Marlborough-Stree property to their daughter only, as they might properly enough hav done, they included in the new ownership their son-in-law, becaus of "love and affection" for him. Moreover, if the different Gover nors and the Council had not regarded him as a well-bred an courtly gentleman, and found him to be altogether agreeable in hi relations with them, his marked professional ability might no alone have been considered as a sufficient reason for according hin one official honor after another.

From his father he doubtless learned in his youth much about his ancestors: of the retention of Bencliffe Hall in the family through a long line of generations; of the eminent standing the Valentines had in Eccles, and the worth-while things done by individual members of the family, with three at least consecrated as clergymen; of his own obligation to live up to the standards and traditions that had been cherished by his forefathers; of the distinct advantage of constantly cultivating polished manners; and perhaps he was also encouraged to maintain a high degree of self-esteem —all of which would inevitably tend, when he grew up, to keep him somewhat apart from the masses and incline him to associate rather with men of position and power. If such ideas were implanted in his mind early in life they would account in a great measure for that lofty bearing which was offensive to many of the plain folk who

aw him in Boston; and if at this late day John Valentine is chari-ably given the benefit of the possibility that he was permanently influenced by what his father told him, it may perhaps seem to ome extent to excuse him.

It is not known what became of the Valentines' family Bible, ut fortunately that of Mrs. Valentine's family, the Lyndes, was ft to her. She provided that it should go to her son Thomas, which erhaps indicates that the Valentine Bible was given to her first on, Samuel. Thomas came near losing the Bible he received, as it nd a desk were the only things saved when his house in Hopkin-on, Massachusetts, was destroyed by fire. On his death the book as passed along to one of his sons, and by him in turn to his son; ut, as the last direct heir to it had no children, a nephew became he inheritor. In this Bible the elder Lyndes evidently made notes f births, marriages and deaths in the Valentine family as long as hey lived; then their daughter, Mrs. Valentine, presumably took p this duty; but the latest entries relating to Samuel Valentine robably were made by his brother Thomas or one of the latter's ons. Here is the register, so far as it concerns the Valentines:

SAMUEL: *Born* December 28, 1702. Married, first, Abigail Durfee of Tiverton, June 25, 1729; second, Rebecca Hall of Swansea, October, 1766. He died March 14, 1781. Fell heir to Bencliffe Hall.

ELIZABETH: *Born* February 22, 1703. Married James Gooch, son of James and Hester Gooch, 1724.

JOHN: *Born* November 8, 1706. Died at Portsmouth, Old England, September 24, 1711.

EDMOND: *Born* January 16, 1709. Died January 30, 1710-11.

THOMAS: *Born* August 3, 1713. Married Elizabeth Gooch.

MARY: *Born* March 23, 1714. Married a Durfee.

EDMOND: *Born* October 22, 1717. Died July 4, 1730.

What may seem to be an error made by somebody in recording the date of Elizabeth's birth as only a couple of months after that

of Samuel is simply an instance of the confusion frequently arisi because of the *Old Style* and the *New Style* in the calendar. Obviou ly, the right year was 1704.

As the death of John occurred in England, when he was on five years old, it may be taken for granted that his mother—pc sibly both parents—visited that country in 1711.

The bestowal of the name of Edmund upon two sons arous curiosity; not because of the use of the name twice, which was do in more than one family when a beloved child had died young, b rather because the name of Edmund does not appear to have bee taken in any other Valentine family, and the reason for repeatin it in this case is not discoverable. In Mr. Valentine's will the nam is spelled, not with an *o*, as in the Lyndes' family Bible, but rath with a *u*, showing definitely that the name was Edmund.

James and Elizabeth Gooch, who are mentioned in the foregoin list, were related: uncle and niece. The Gooches were quite pro minent in Boston. Like the Lyndes, they were complimented b having one of the old streets at the West End named for the family

Mrs. Valentine lived until March 26, 1732, dying at the age c fifty, after an illness of four months. She was laid at rest in th tomb of the Lynde family in the Charter-Street Cemetery i Salem.

The numerous descendants of John Valentine have now extende as far as the eighth generation.

As this chronicle began with a reference to Bencliffe Hall, i shall close with a brief review of facts about that ancient family seat.

Records are not available in this country to show just who ir the Valentine family possessed the Hall for a long period after it passed to Richard Valentine under the will of his father, Thomas Valentine, dated March 28, 1550. More than a century later, however, another Richard Valentine appeared as owner. He was baptized at Eccles on June 16, 1675. In 1713 he was High Sheriff of Lancaster County. That same year he made a will which gave the Hall to the Reverend Thomas Valentine, a vicar in Frankford,

County Sligo, Ireland. This clergyman lived for half a century longer. His will, dated September 10, 1763, only two months before his death, contained many generous bequests, those in cash alone amounting to more than 5600 pounds sterling. The Bencliffe property was disposed of in this way:

> "First, I Give and Devise to Samuel Valentine, the eldest son of John Valentine, deceased, late of Boston in New England, my second Cousin, his heirs and assigns, all that my messuage and tenement scituate, lying and being in the Parrish of Eccles and County of Lancaster called Bencliffe Hall, together with Riders Tenement contiguous thereunto," *etc.*

Samuel Valentine, loyal to family traditions, kept the property all the rest of his life; in other words, for eighteen years. His will, executed in 1781, provided in part that "all my houses and lands in Old England, in the County of Lancashire," should go to his sons William and David.

For ten years more Samuel's sons retained ownership of Bencliffe, but in 1792, evidently realizing that neither of them would ever wish to remove to England, they sold the Hall and about fifty acres to a Mrs. Partington. As Mary Partington was one of the beneficiaries under the will of the Reverend Thomas Valentine of Ireland, and was mentioned as a relation, the new owner of Bencliffe almost certainly was of that family.

Thus Bencliffe Hall, after having been continuously owned by somebody bearing the name of Valentine from (probably) the end of the 1400's, as outlined in the opening chapter of this book, finally became the property of somebody with a different name, near the end of the 1700's.

"These are all gone, their little day is o'er;
They laugh, they weep, they sport, they toil no more;
Their feet are still, and others, in their room,
With busy step are hurrying to the tomb.
We, in our turn, to others shall give place,
And others yet come forth to run the race;
And yet that race by others shall be run
Till time is over, and the world is done."

A Last Glimpse of the Parish Church
As it looked when there were fields about it